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PATRILOCAL RESIDENCE AND THE UNILOCAL HOUSEHOLD

591 Araucanians find it difficult to generalize about the behavior
patterns of kindred. This may well be due to the fact that they
592 spend most of their lives within a rather circumscribed group
of relatives. These are brought together through the workings
of patrilocal residence customs, which still prevail almost with-
out exception. It seems to have been the established rule for a
young man to bring his bride to live in his father's house, thus
592 leading to the formation of patrilocal, unilocal households. In
596 the course of time, a married man of early middle age might
find himself in the center of five generations which would in-
clude his father's father and his spouses, father and father's
brothers and their respective mates, *ego's* brothers and their
wives, *ego's* sons and their brides, his brothers' sons and their
wives, his unmarried daughters, and *ego's* sons' children. With-
in such a group, *ego* would have exceedingly close ties with the
members of his patrilineal lineage, for he and his father's father,
and his son's son would all possess the same name, and his
father's brothers would be surrogate fathers. Under normal
conditions, a man would spend his entire life under his natal
(paternal) roof, and his most intimate contacts would be with
his housemates.

Men thus formed the more stable element of the society,
since women had to forsake their natal households at marriage.
[587] Even in the case of females, however, household exogamy ap-
plied ordinarily only to first marriages, for a widow was very
likely to marry one of her brothers-in-law, or else to be in-
herited by her son. In neither case would she have to leave her
marital household.

592 Even at this date the Mapuche allow polygyny, and the cus-
595 tom was formerly widespread. With many males residing under
a single roof, some limitation on spouses must have been main-
tained, and the number of wives a man could take seems to
have been decided by the older men of the household.

592 Whereas the social structure clearly operated to promote
562 masculine harmony and solidarity, it imposed great strains on
women. They had scarcely any voice in the selection of mates,

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they had nothing to say about where they were going to live, and they had little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That women were far from indifferent to this state of affairs may be judged by the manner in which they took advantage of an approved form of social singing to voice numerous complaints.[11] A newly married woman felt and acted like a stranger in her husband's household. She was expected not to plunge at once into the group's domestic affairs, and for several months she would sit facing the wall, without looking her housemates, other than her husband, directly in the face. Above all, she had to show great respect for her husband's father. To this day a woman is expected to show marked deference to adults of the other sex, particularly to her husband and father-in-law. Still, on two widely separated occasions I noted that men would not take it on themselves to sell objects belonging to their wives. When sales were made these women set the price and kept the money.

Not only did a bride have to make numerous adjustments to the men in her spouse's natal household, but she also had to learn to live harmoniously with the other women who had married into the same household. Particularly significant in this regard was the attitude of mutual distrust displayed by women who were married to brothers. Under the old system of unilocal, patrilocal residence, such sisters-in-law were forced to share a common residence, with all the tensions that this implies. These affinal relatives usually call each other by the special term *modomo*, the literal meaning of which is "feces woman." It is essential to understand that this is a conventional reciprocal term for coresident sisters-in-law, and is not merely an expletive used in anger or during a flash of hate.[12]

[11] Titiev, 1949, p. 16. Moesbach (1930, p. 240) described how older women comfort a recent bride and keep watch to prevent her from running away or injuring herself.

[12] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 133, and Titiev, 1949, pp. 9–11. The latter contains the texts of songs rendered by wives who are unhappy because they are mistreated by the husband's family, disregarded by a father-in-law, or distressed at the news that a husband's brother is about to bring a new bride into the household.

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602 The warm feelings that link the natal coresidents of a house-
● 592 hold contrast sharply with the group's attitude toward out-
[578] siders. Commonly, latent hostility is expressed particularly toward the father's sister's husband, *kachũ*, whose marriage deprives the natal unit of a member. *Kachũ* is sometimes described as a potential traitor. As far as my data go, similar attitudes are not voiced toward other men who marry women of one's household.

Although the dictates of exogamy force the Araucanians to marry outside the natal household, they do not like to establish a wide range of affinal relationships. They tend to be fearful of [609] strangers and to suspect them of being witches, so much so that boys used to be taught not to marry outsiders. When viewed in this light the customs of cross-cousin marriage and unilocal, patrilocal residence take on added significance. Under optimum conditions these practices require only two households for entrance into a series of marriage alliances. Thus, if a man brings home a wife from a certain outside household, his son secures a mate from the same group, since a woman and her brother's daughter belong to the same natal unit. In fact, the term *ñuke* (which applies to mother, mother's sister, and wife) may be said to connote woman of an affinal household. Nor [587] should it be overlooked that sororate, sororal polygyny, and levirate all tend to maintain or strengthen marital ties that have already been established by two intermarrying groups.[14]

602 Latcham reached the conclusion that a rite called *kewchotun*
572 implied a system of matrimonial alliances between two families.[15] Others say only that *kewchotun*, the central act of which called for the sacrifice and consumption of a sheep, was no more

[14] Although the analysis here proposed is based on information independently secured, it should be noted that Cooper (1946, p. 719) suggested a similar interpretation. He quoted statements to the effect that one native rationalized cross-cousin marriage on the basis that it prevented discord, and that an earlier writer stated that sororal polygyny was common " 'to avoid quarrels and jealousy.' "

[15] Latcham, 1924, p. 531.

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621 626 however, were not necessarily in force throughout the entire tribal domain. And yet it cannot be said that the Mapuche lived in a state of anarchy.

621 592 Apparently, the principal weight of political authority ran along lines of kinship, and the unilocal household seems to have been the central element in the system. Each household comprised a localized and permanent succession of males, supplemented essentially by their wives and unmarried daughters. In the area south of the Cautín River the entire group, consisting of as many as eighty people, lived literally under a single roof;[40] north of the Cautín the unilocal arrangement was observed only in principle, inasmuch as three or four successive generations of men would build small, but independent *rukas* in close proximity to one another. These clusters are known as *leo*, *laf*, or *lafche*,[41] and in the aggregate their occupants comprise the same kin that lived in one large dwelling.

622 592 627 Each of the localized kinship groups was essentially autonomous when no major fighting was taking place. Normally, one of the oldest men held the position of chief, *lonko*, and at his death the office descended to his son, brother, or paternal nephew as the surviving men of the unit decided. It was the [421] chief who held at least nominal title to his group's land, and it was he who allotted parts for the use of particular followers.[42] His advice was sought on all occasions, and no man of his unilocal household or its equivalent could marry without his 622 592 627 681 consent. He was also expected to supervise payment of *llakkan* that involved his retainers. *Llakkan* was a form of restitution or wergild which had to be paid by a murderer to the survivors

[40] Latcham, 1924, p. 263. A description of a large unilocal household, with partitions separating the quarters assigned to a man's married sons, occurs in Smith, 1855, p. 295.

[41] It is interesting to speculate on the precise significance of these words. Augusta (1916, I: 116) translated *laf* as "brook" or "collapse." I am tempted to think that the word applies to an aggregate of households that represents the breakdown of an older system of strictly unilocal residence. Latcham (1924, p. 263) used the word *leo* for these groups of structures.

[42] Cf. Smith, 1855, p. 241.

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of his victim, by a man who abducted a bride without previous arrangement, by a lover who took another man's wife, or by the husband or family of a witch who happened to escape the death sentence. Under certain conditions, too, *llakkan* had to be paid to his affinal relatives by a spouse whose wife had died, even if the husband was not blamed for her death.

Nevertheless, despite his weighty responsibilities, the authority of a *lakko* was strictly limited. For the most part, he served only as the representative and spokesman of his unit, and he was expected to hold frequent assemblies of his adult, masculine followers, *kow-as*, in order to determine their wishes in advance.[28] Because of this custom a chief's power depended largely on his ability to sway his men through the skillful use of oratory.[29] He was also esteemed in proportion to his wealth in terms of land, herds, wives, and household goods. To some extent, the welfare of the people was supposed to depend on the leaders, for it was widely believed that the advent of evil times presaged the death of a prominent man.

If a chief died or if his *kow-as* wished to depose him, neighboring caciques were called in to supervise the choice of a new leader. A large assembly of the men concerned was held, and all principals or their spokesmen were given a thorough hearing. When all had spoken, the presiding chiefs selected as the new *lakko* the candidate who seemed to have the best qualifications and the greatest support of his prospective retainers. There was no fixed policy of tenure for the chief, but, unless he aroused tremendous opposition, he usually served for life.

Molina wrote that the Araucanian "state" was partitioned into four independent districts called *ulnal-mapu*, each of which was led by a *toqui*. Every *ulnal-mapu* was divided into five "provinces" and each of these in turn was subdivided into nine "counties" presided over by *almeces*.[30] Several early sources re-

[28] Cf. Smith, 1855, pp. 140–43; Mansbach, 1930, pp. 122–38; and Edwards, 1930, 14 ff.

[29] See Mansbach, 1930, p. 126; and Cooper, 1946, p. 727.

[30] Molina, 1808, II: 55–56.

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ferred to similar sociopolitical structures, but their data are too fragmentary and their terminology too inconsistent to provide a clear presentation.[41] All authors agree on two points. Whatever the true nature of the system may have been, it functioned best in times of war; and the smaller units were autonomous except during emergencies.

From a review of all the known facts it seems evident that far beyond all other considerations, a local chief's prestige depended on the number of able-bodied men at his disposal. Even when they were nominally at peace the Araucanians frequently carried out intratribal raids, known as *malones*.[42] In this practice the political and kinship systems merge into one, for the size of a *loñko's* following depended primarily on the number of sons he and the men of his lineage begot. That explains why polygyny was so widely practiced and why great chiefs commonly amassed as many as twenty wives apiece.[43] Almost invariably, the authority of a *loñko* was restricted to kinfolk, and the central core of his following was formed by those members of his patrilineal lineage who would have resided in his household under the ancient scheme of unilocal, patrilocal residence. It is significant that during an interview on this subject Juan Antinao voluntarily defined a *loñko* as *la cabeza de la familia y su reducción*.[44] Such an interpretation is also supported by the fact that chiefs are known whose following numbered only 120 to 130 persons.[45]

Under the traditional form of Araucanian social organization, each chief was assisted by two important officials called *werkens*.

[41] Cooper, 1946, p. 725. Latcham (1924) devoted his fifth and sixth chapters to lengthy discussions of these supposed sociopolitical units, but throughout he stressed their ceremonial or totemic implications.

[42] Latcham (1909, p. 354): "Armed raids (*malones*) were constantly made on the neighboring villages. . . ." A vivid description of a large-scale attack occurs in Moesbach, 1930, pp. 270–87.

[43] Latcham, 1909, p. 359.

[44] Similar statements to the effect that chiefs had authority only over kin may be found in numerous places. See, for example, Latcham, 1909, pp. 356–57; Edwards, 1930, p. 13; and Cooper, 1946, p. 726.

[45] Hosse, 1939, pp. 249 and 282.

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SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CAUTINCHE

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In 1948 the reduction consisted of 111 people who were distributed among seventeen houses (Table II).

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF CAUTINCHE'S POPULATION[1]

House No.	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children	Total
1	1	1	8	10
2	1	1	3	5
3	1	1	2	4
4	1	2	4	7
5	2	1	2	5
6	1	1	4	6
7	1	1	2	4
8	1	0	3	4
9	1	1	1	3
10	1	2	6	9
11	2	2	9	13
12	1	1	4	6
13	2	2	3	7
14	1	1	2	4
15	1	1	4	6
16	1	1	3	5
17	1	2	10	13
Totals	20	21	70	111

Two households contain as many as thirteen inmates each, and one has as few as three, but the average is six and one-half.

[1] The house numbers follow the scheme used in Figure 4. The system of numbering is entirely arbitrary and is used simply for convenience in making references.

Readers are reminded that statistical data obtained from natives are not always entirely accurate.

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Every dwelling has at least one child, and only a single household lacks an adult woman. No more than three residences shelter two adult men, which indicates that there are no long-standing bachelors and which also serves to show how little is left of the traditional unilocal household system. There are very few spinsters and no unmarried widows or divorcees.

TABLE III

NATAL RESERVATIONS OF CAUTINCHE WIVES

Present Wives	Former Wives	Total	Natal Reservation
6	2	8	Carrarrifie
3	2	5	Boldoche
1	3	4	Romulwe
1	2	3	Cautinche
1	2	3	Chivilcoyam
0	2	2	Denencuhue
0	2	2	Malalche
0	1	1	Huichicon
1	0	1	Coigue
0	1	1	Curaco
1	0	1	Peyuko
1	0	1	Penuche
1	0	1	Catrimalal
1	0	1	Cuelche
Totals 17	17	34	

The practice of polygyny still exists, but seems to be falling into disuse. It was reported that in the recent past men with two or three wives occupied houses Nos. 5, 7, 10, 11, and 17,[4] but at present only occupants of Nos. 4, 10, and 11 are reported to have two wives each. It is worthwhile to analyze the marriage arrangements a bit more, in the light of the general discussion in the preceding chapter. At one time or another the seventeen male householders have married a total of thirty-four women.

[4] Doubtless, Cautinche's first two *kuñas* had multiple wives but, since exact information was unobtainable, they are not included in this discussion.

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Misión Araucana's school at Carrarriñe. Soon after, a rival instructor named Martín Duminghual opened an independent school with government support. A series of quarrels broke out, and Carrarriñe became divided into parties that supported or opposed Gallardo. Early in 1948 the Misión Araucana found it necessary to dismiss Gallardo, who was replaced by Domingo Carilaf from Tranahuillín (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). Thereupon, Gallardo opened a school of his own and dedicated a new hockey field on July 14, 1948. Thus, Carrarriñe finds itself in the curious position of harboring three schools within a league of one another.

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SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CARRARRIÑE

Carrarriñe was officially designated as a reduction in December, 1887, and underwent allotment on December 16, 1921. It contains between fifty and fifty-five households. Working conditions did not permit us to secure sociological data on all the inhabitants, but information was obtained for thirty-eight dwellings, distributed as indicated in Figure 8. There were 224 people residing in the thirty-eight units studied, an average of six to a household. The range is two to twelve, and the mode is six, as may be seen in Table V.

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The social structure of Carrarriñe differs from that of Cautinche in several basic respects. For one thing, reservation exogamy is far less common, probably because the population of Carrarriñe is larger and more diversified. Data obtained for thirty-six married women reveal that thirteen, or 36 per cent, of them came from "Greater Carrarriñe," eleven from within the main reservation, and two from Trumenguelo. The remaining wives were drawn from many scattered reductions. Informants pointed out several polygynous households, but did not furnish adequate statistics. In one interesting case a native speaker treated as a single familial unit the members of a bigamous group in which a man's two wives lived in adjacent houses. In only one household (Fig. 8, No. 10) was there no adult woman. A widower and two unmarried sons kept house there.

621 [582] 161 592

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TABLE V

Distribution of Carrasquel's Population

House No.	No. of Occupants
1	4
2	6
3	6
4	7
5	3
6	3
7	4
8	9
9	4
10	3
11	5
12	9
13	4
14	6
15	5
16	3
17	6
18	6
19	6
20	3
21	15
22	10
23	5
24	7
25	8
26	3
27	2
28	6
29	8
30	3
31	15
32	6
33	6
34	6
35	7
36	3
37	10
38	8
Total	204

1: Titiev E-3 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF RENACO

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Renaco's population distribution conforms closely to the pattern described for Cautinche and Carrarriñe. There are fifty-six people grouped into nine households, an average of slightly over six to a dwelling. The number of adults of each sex and the proportion of adults to children may be seen in Table VI.

There are several unusual household combinations in Renaco. House No. 4, for instance, contains a bachelor, his unmarried

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF RENACO'S POPULATION

House No.	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children	Total
1	1	1	4	6
2	1	1	6	8
3	1	1	5	7
4	1	1	2	4
5	3	1	2	6
6	3	3	1	7
7	2	2	2	6
8	1	1	3	5
9	0	3	2	7
Totals	13	14	27	56

sister, and a young brother and sister. Informants said of this householder, Domingo Huenchual, that "he did not wish to marry." A male cousin, José Toque, used to occupy structure No. 5, but long ago he moved to Argentina. The house now shelters Francisco Villegas with his wife, two children, and two bachelor brothers. In No. 6 there lives a couple with one small child, two unmarried grown sons and two unwed adult daughters. Of the four children belonging to the couple in No. 7, one is a bachelor and one a spinster.

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Only a single case of polygyny was noted at Renaco. The chief, who lives in No. 1 with one wife, has a second wife in No.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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9. Here she resides with a married son and his wife, a bachelor son, an unwed granddaughter, and two small grandchildren. All the women married to Renaco men come from outside reservations, but two brothers from houses Nos. 8 and 9 selected wives from the same place. Like Carrarriñe, Renaco has a fairly high number of unmarried adults of both sexes.

A SOCIOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

When one reviews all the evidence supplied by informants with respect to the origins of the three reservations studied in this chapter, one finds a great many varied data among which a fairly consistent pattern may be detected. It is impossible to reconcile all the disagreements of time and circumstance noted, but if one selects some of the relevant statements that were made, a reasonably clear hypothesis can be put together. Without further apology, the following reconstruction is tentatively offered.

About 1800 a band of Araucanians settled at Nacimiento, near the Bío Bío River. Among them were members of the Painemal, Collío, Nahuelhual, and Huenchual families, all of whom were presumably patrilineally related. The group split about 1825, with the Nahuelhual-Huenchual segment moving to Renaco, while the Collío-Painemal people moved to Carrarriñe. In keeping with cross-cousin marriage rules, the younger Collío-Painemal men married daughters of their Renaco maternal uncles. During those years the Mapuche were not only at war with outsiders but they also seem to have had many internal quarrels, which spurred some of them to detach themselves from established communities and to seek new homes in virgin territory. One instance of this sort took place about 1850, when a dissentient from Carrarriñe, Antío Paineo, left his natal region and founded a new community at Cautinche. Thus, Mapuche settlements seem to have split off from one another by a process somewhat analogous to mitosis. An original "parent cell" at Nacimiento divided into the "daughter cells" of Renaco and Carrarriñe about 1825; and approximately a generation later Carrarriñe divided to form Cautinche. The off-

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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533 The term for a song is ñi, and the verb "to sing" is ñimantun. As a rule, the songs have neither fixed numbers of syllables nor regularly determined verse lengths. Instead, they get their effects from a combination of clever wording and rhythmic phrasing in conformity with the patterns of Araucanian speech. If a particular passage is well received, it may be repeated at the option of the singer.

Mapuche songs cover a wide range of topics, including prayers and supplications for supernatural aid, love and courtship, lonesomeness, sorrow, grief resulting from bereavement, enforced separation, poverty, or failure to have offspring. Some classes of songs are rendered by special personages such as chiefs or medicine women,[4] and others are sung in conjunction with the performance of particular activities.[5] Both of these types may be rendered in traditionally fixed forms and are generally accompanied by musical instruments.[6]

A great number of unaccompanied songs are improvised at public gatherings by men or women who take advantage of these occasions to "blow off steam," or to call general attention to some matter of personal concern to the singer. Songs of this kind are called "assembly songs," and their moods may vary from salve and joyful to slanderous, bitter, or ironic.

Not many "assembly songs" have been published, and scarcely any have been analysed in terms of their social and cultural meanings. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to this interesting but little known aspect of Araucanian culture, by providing examples of representative texts, translations, and interpretations.

SOCIOCULTURAL BACKGROUND

621 592 756] During recent decades the Mapuche have been living in a large number of districts or reservations, known in Spanish as reducciones. Each of these communities comprises a varying

[4] Best known in this category are machi ñi, sung by female shamans or machis, in conjunction with curing rites or public ceremonies.

[5] For example, songs designed to bring victory in hockey games are known as palíwe ñi ("hockey game song") and are sung before a match begins.

[6] The most commonly used instruments are listed and described in John M. Cooper, "The Araucanians," Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Julian H. Steward (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), I, 718.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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number of households whose male occupants are, as a rule, patrilineally related. Postmarital residence is patrilocal, and most marriages are exogamic with respect to the husband's reducción. Unilocal residence formerly prevailed, since married sons continued to live under their father's roof;[1] but the modern tendency, at least in the region north of the Cautín River, has been for sons at marriage to build independent houses (rucas) on their natal reservations.

Araucanian communities are characterized by an absence of physical cohesion. There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town.[2] Correspondingly, it is not surprising that there should be a minimum of community enterprises. Weather permitting, a fair amount of visiting takes place among friends and relatives who live on the same reserve, but inter-reducción contacts are comparatively few. This is particularly true during the cold and rainy months of winter, when roads wash out and travel becomes all but impossible. For several months of each year, therefore, every community tends to be cut off from its neighbors.

The virtual isolation that prevails in winter is relieved in the spring and fall when intergroup gatherings known as kawin or trawin are held. Members of a given reservation act as hosts, and guests are invited from other districts. Various motives may serve to bring about these meetings. They may be held for the purpose of reaching policy decisions that affect all the participants, to announce important events or news items, to honor a person returning from Argentina or some other distant place, to celebrate a holiday, to hold a thanksgiving ritual or a housewarming fiesta, or simply for the sake of friendship and sociability.[3] Whatever their particular aims

[1] For a discussion of the significance of unilocal residence, see M. Titiev, "The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 511-36.

[2] The limits of each reducción are defined by legal title to a given piece of land. These titles were originally allotted to recognized chiefs, who assigned particular portions to their descendants and followers. The collapse of the old system of chieftainship has resulted in much confusion with respect to land holdings.

[3] Public assemblies may be called kawin or trawin. These words are variously spelled by Spanish writers, and some authors try to distinguish between them on the basis of function. All assemblies, however, share so many features that it seems permissible to treat them together. On this point compare Eulogio Robles R., "Costumbres i

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SC4 Araucanians SC4
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539 dirt make mud, and that is far from good.

Interpretation.—A wife sings in this vein to make it known that she is maltreated by her husband's family, with whom she has to live according to the custom of patrilocal unilocal residence. On hearing such a complaint people speak to the singer's parents-in-law, urging them to be more considerate of their daughter-in-law.

Woman's Song No. 6

weda iwbei pulmo
dungu allnutun
fotum mülen mülki
dumo nguerke lal.

Free translation.—Things are very bad with me. My father-in-law pays attention only to his son, while I am dismissed as if I were dead.

[538] Interpretation.—Once again the strain put on a woman by the custom of patrilocal unilocal residence is brought out. A wife is a newcomer to her husband's household and is very much subject to her father-in-law throughout his lifetime.[1]

Woman's Song No. 7

weda pewman
trofin mülen
ñi küllu dewm
ne pewman mülen.

Free translation.—I had a bad dream just last night. On account of my brother-in-law [küllu] I dreamed of nothing but dung.

539 Interpretation.—This song expresses unhappiness because
542 a woman's brother-in-law is about to marry. Through the workings of the custom of unilocal patrilocal residence his marriage means that another woman will come to live in the singer's household and will share in the conduct of its affairs. Women who are married to brothers often are so hostile that

[1] There is reason to believe that in former times a mature man exhibited strong control over the inmates of his household. Persons in these consisted of his wives and unmarried offspring and his married sons and their wives and young children.

they call each other *mañanco* ["loose woman"].* 539
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When people hear a song of this kind, which is sung in the presence of the brother-in-law concerned, they keep it in mind but can take no action, since the marriage has not yet occurred. They note the hint of impending trouble, however, and prepare to serve as mediators and conciliators at the first sign of strife. Toward this end a secret committee of friendly and related women may be formed in order to establish amicable relations between the singer and her prospective sister-in-law.

Woman's Song No. 8 539

ve kechü dungu
piyentuge welu
eñeechelu kechüñun
fei ula fve lelel
tami dungun
eñeñe felpi fell.

Free translation.--At first you used to say only sweet things to me, but now the sweetness is gone and your speech is bitter. Please speak to me as you used to do in the beginning.

Interpretation.--Acting on the complaint expressed here, a group of responsible men may take it upon themselves to find out what has gone wrong and to take steps to bring about a reconciliation. Since Mapuche men talk more freely than do women about their private affairs, the group usually has some prior awareness of the husband's side of the case; but the wife's point of view may be entirely unknown up to this moment. As a matter of fact, Colilo expressed the opinion that a woman would not sing to this way unless she had been long married and had acquired a feeling of security as the dominant female in her household. 539
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Woman's Song No. 9 539

mañeñelu kuñeval
ñeñiñ inche ñuwe
pin-ngün küñel

*Cf. De Augusta, SG 10 - L (3).

2: Titiev E-5 (1968) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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inche pīle mīten
fenguechi peuman
tañi ñadu nguen meu.

Free translation.—A flock of turtledoves[31] flutters constantly by my side, wherever I may happen to be. In this way did I dream because of my ñadu ("husband's sister").

539 Interpretation.—Although this type of song is called wenan-
●592 kun ("sadness") it really expresses the opposite emotion. It reveals the good news that a woman's sister-in-law is about to be married. By the rule of patrilocal residence it follows that the singer is about to lose the companionship of her husband's sister, who was always fluttering about her. Deep down, the singer is pleased at the prospect of being left alone in her house with her husband and children.[32] Indeed, everyone may be said to be pleased: the prospective bride, her brother, her sister-in-law, and those of the bystanders who entertain hopes of taking part in the wedding celebration. Thus, this song "hurts no one," as Collío put it, and people hasten to wish joy to the girl whose betrothal the singer has announced. Just the same, Collío added, no woman would sing publicly in this manner, unless she were herself long-married and confident of her own security.

Man's Song No. 1[33]

539
584

kiñe ngue meu
elle lelien feichi
ñiu ad laen
pume kutrantun
tañi fem ñiel
re kura pinke
ñtrul niyen.

Free translation.—Only with one eye do you glance at me at present. When you hide your face, I might as well be dead.

[31]De Augusta, op. cit., I, 122, identified cuñinko as la tortola, the turtledove (Zenaida auriculata).

[32]Contrast a wife's bitterness, in "Woman's Song No. 7," at the prospect of having a new sister-in-law move into her household.

[33]"Man's Songs" No. 1 and No. 2 were called dakelkan ñi ("pact-making song") by Collío. As he used the term ñi had the connotation of a love pact.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

539 936 582 daughters not to yield too readily to their importunate cousins.

CONCLUSION

583 The songs contained in the preceding section represent only a part of the repertoire of a single, well-versed informant. No doubt vast stores of similar material await systematic collection. Unquestionably, too, they will yield many insights into the workings of Mapuche culture and its effects on the temperaments of the people.

[542] For women, especially, the device of assembly singing seems to afford an important emotional outlet. Traditionally, Araucanian social organization has a strong masculine emphasis, and women have only minor and subordinate status.[9] This is particularly apparent in the marriage customs, for women have scarcely any voice in the selection of mates, they have nothing to say about where they are going to live, and they have little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That these matters trouble them is clearly evident from the way in which wives take advantage of a socially approved safety valve that gives them an opportunity to "blow off steam" regarding their marital problems, without fear of criticism or reprisals.

539 592 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal reducción, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in "Woman's Song" Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.

539 582 Another aspect of Mapuche social organization that finds recurrent expression in the songs is the emphasis on cross-cousin marriage. So close is the bond between a man and his mother's brother's daughter (kuñi-fuñe) that one may use the term fuñe for a wife or sweetheart who is not a daughter of one's maternal uncle.

[9] The fact that most of the religious leaders (machis) are women makes an important exception to the general rule.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

● 92

Family groups: 1. An Alapin family and the children's maternal grandmother. The daughters, in plaid dress (present in Chilean home in Valdivia), brought her shawl. (At her left) the dress she helps is wearing. (Dark material with red stripe and belt dyeing on loom in the background.) 2. The Calbuya woman's family. 3. The Chan Chan woman's family. (Alapin area).

[illegible]

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

augmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to amass extremely large holdings, as on Alonquen, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "nuclear" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonquen has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an unpaid (peon) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and intertribal relationships among the various reducción makes it clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other attributes often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonquen, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and owns, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about ten per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 469 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonquen are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Literateness: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Literateness. Of a total of 199 hectares, approximately 180 are

II:Farm E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land. Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so-and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants — people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently become a minor government official.

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Lumaco (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into several holdings in 1938, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded *ocupante* status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential *ocupantes* on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of división will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward neolocality and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding oats, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

[LAND ON RESERVATION HUILCAN -- Analysis]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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meant that Mapuche society is coming more and more to resemble Chilean society.

Mapuche society has been deeply influenced by reservation living, which is to say that ecological adjustments have had social consequences. But the consequences have served to shore up Mapuche social and cultural integrity. There have been some changes toward an approximation of certain Chilean institutional forms, to be sure. But what are these compared to the reintegration of Mapuche society? Economic change has been sweeping, since all reservations are presently involved in the Chilean system of cash-credit and markets. But how deeply has the reorganization of this aspect of Mapuche economy affected the social structure? What is the measure of its force? How much heat has the impact of two societies engendered, and at what levels of social structure? And how is this heat being dissipated?

The system of kinship and marriage has changed largely as a result of reservation life, but remains quite distinctively Mapuche. The political structure has likewise changed, both with respect to links with Chilean society and internally on the reservations. Religion has changed as well. Residence patterns have changed and, within the context of reservation life, household composition has become modified. But there has been no marked shift in any of these institutions in the direction of Chilean society. Educational services have brought some knowledge of the Spanish language and the Christian religion to the Mapuche, but the Mapuche continue to think in Araucanian and burn offerings to their ancestral gods.

We do find the family household operating in greater isolation from other households than ever before in Mapuche history. But this isolation is relative *only* to agricultural activities, and even then it is by no means complete. Mapuche labor under well-known precepts such as "by the sweat of one's brow" and "not by bread alone," which are largely contradictory directives of social action. A Mapuche farmer desires to eat well, to clothe his family, to live in a well-thatched house. He therefore works with one eye on the market place, and this represents a postreservation change in economic orientation. But his spirit must also be served, and those of his ancestors as well. To this end his other eye observes Mapuche custom (*admapu*). The Mapuche family has been sorted out from its lineal matrix more through the misunderstanding of non-Mapuche than by any adaptations, ecological or otherwise, which have been made during the last three-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 'Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

Even though it might be said that the elementary family is acquiring greater economic independence – at least in the area of Mapuche-Chilean relationships – and might even have greater numerical expression on the reservations than formerly, there is no word, no convenient Araucanian phrase to distinguish this type of family from others or from larger aggregates of different composition such as the lineage. The Spanish word *familia* is used with some growing precision in this regard, which I take to indicate mainly the family's changing position in the economic structure. But this is only one aspect of family organization and, in any case, the elementary family is – at least during one or more phases of its development – always imbedded in a larger domestic group.

Rather than the elementary family, therefore, the household is the most common referent. The usual Araucanian designation for household is *ruka* (house); and it is employed without special reference to household composition. Today, *ruka* is never used in the sense of lineage, although in the recent past, when large unilocal households were characteristic social units, it might well have had something of this significance. Nevertheless, in the past *ruka* commonly designated extended- and/or compound-family households, which again suggests that the elementary family has been traditionally conceived of as a component of a larger domestic aggregate.

Lof and *lofche* are used to indicate a group of *rukas* (households) which have some spatial cohesion, in contrast to the more dispersed residence pattern which is common among the Mapuche (see Maps II and III). Spatial proximity indicates social cohesion. In discussing the composition of *lof*, informants note that the males of such a group are close patrilineal kinsmen – father and sons or a group of brothers and their families. If the heads of the individual households maintain social and economic relationships among them, relationships having a workaday importance, the *lof* functions as an extended-family group. Even in the absence of purely economic ties, however, such closely related households are always tied together by strong bonds of moral (religious) obligation and form a corporate segment of funeral and fertility congregations.

The etymology of *lof* suggests to Titiev a linguistic reflection of the breakup of a once strictly unilocal (household) residence pattern. Since *lofu* means "to bulge" or "to fall apart," this seems a plausible hypothesis. To test it, it would be helpful to learn when *lof* was first applied to groupings of this sort, and whether this involved any change in meaning. The word might also reflect a pattern of estab-

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

lishing separate households for co-wives and their offspring in polygynous families, a *lof* arrangement of considerable antiquity which still exists among the Mapuche.

Derivative terms such as *lofwen* (participants in communal work) and *lofkudaw* (communal work) suggest that *lof* was used historically in reference to some sort of kin-based economic group, as it is today. It carries this connotation today even though interhousehold agricultural cooperation has diminished in intensity and day-to-day importance, and even though the residence pattern appears to be becoming more "dispersed" through the establishment of independent households.

Elpa is a word used for "lineage," according to the dictionary of Fray Félix José de Augusta (1916), but the definition is of Spanish construction and might reflect the same sort of bias evident in Spanish discussions and definitions of other Mapuche social groups. *Elpa*, in any case, is not in general use today and is not unequivocally translated as "lineage." Mapuche use the Spanish words *decendencia* and *linaje* when discussing lineage affiliation. Of the two, *decendencia* is the more precise. *Linaje* tends to overlap *familia* in definition, and both might be used to refer to an ill-defined extended group of kin. Again, the words *kiñeche* (Araucanian) and *parientes* are used to refer to consanguineal as well as affinal groups, but *kiñeche* has special reference to ancestral spirits. *Gente* is about equally indecisive, although reference is often to the household. Lineages are not named groups, but sometimes they are distinguished by the name of the reputed founder when greater clarity is called for. Generally, a good deal of discussion is needed before the outsider is able to determine what is meant when these terms are used, since the Mapuche tend to use them nonspecifically and are able to tell from context what is implied. Usually only living relatives are referred to unless matters of inheritance, marriage, and crisis rites are concerned — and context always serves to make clear the definition of the groups in question.

Genealogies are extended past the grandparental generation only with some difficulty and uncertainty, and after consultation with elders. Although modifications in the traditional system might possibly account for this, there are historical indications of a general lack of secular concern with other than living relatives. And only deceased relatives in the direct patriline are of much social importance — for example in tracing descent to the original title holder of reservation land or, for ritual purposes, beyond him to "authentic" patrilineal

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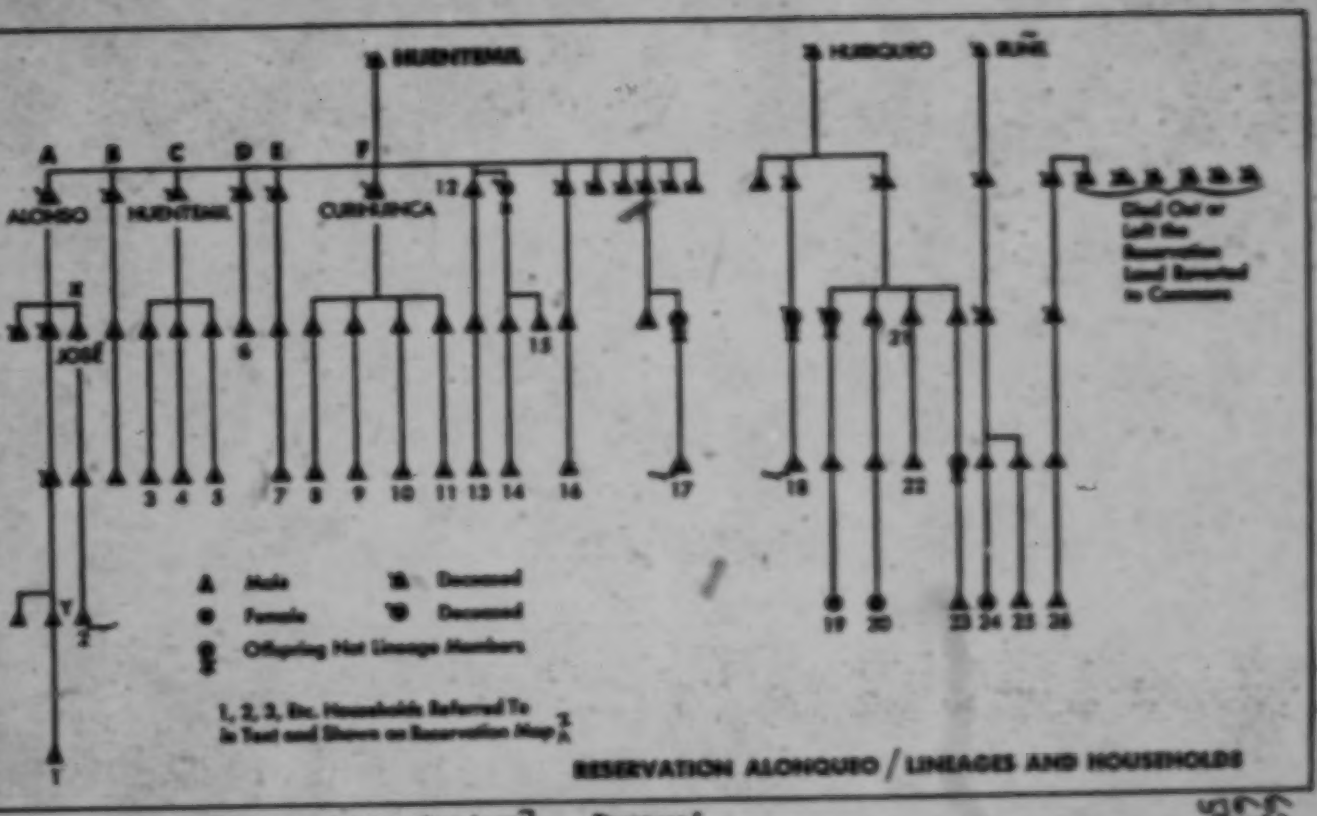

[See cat. 114, p.32 ~ Analysis]

DIAGRAM I

II:Farms E-S (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

as by others who recognize that it would, in the absence of a strong chief, contribute to factionalism and community disharmony. 613 621

Some of the sublineages are more tightly integrated than others, and certain branches are more closely linked or allied than others. These differences, manifest in tensions and expressions of both hostility and indifference, are partly the result of reservation limitations on physical mobility. In prereservation times, discord among members of a *lofche* was alleviated by one segment detaching itself and moving away, a solution no longer feasible.

According to tradition, Huentemil, beyond whom there is no exact recollection, headed a polygynous compound which consisted of several households. He is said to have lived in the largest of these along with two wives and their children and close relatives. His other three wives had dwellings of their own, where they raised their children. This living arrangement, which is still encountered in Araucanía, is rationalized as the best one for maintaining harmonious relations within a polygynous family. There was no budding off of households in this instance, the group living in close contact in a *lofche* arrangement. 613 621 595 592

When Huentemil's sons married and began having children of their own, the compound and surrounding farmland became crowded. There is no tale of a dispute among the brothers or between them and their father. The account relates that Alonso, the original chief of the reservation, moved into the present area (near *rukas* 1 and 2 on Map II).[2] Other brothers also moved out from the parental home to clear new land and build houses for their wives and children. This movement occurred in a time of relative peace between the Chileans and the Mapuche of this region (between 1870 and 1880). If certain segments of Huentemil's *lofche* moved farther away, nothing of them is remembered. There seems to have been continual and frequent contact among the offshoots of the group, and the impression is that Huentemil's authority over them was maintained. 613 621 [49]

There is nothing about the original settlement pattern which serves to illuminate social relationships on the reservation today. The original occupation of the area was north of the communal road, and was made up of the households of Alonso and some of his brothers. Those of their sons who remained on the reservation either lived in their parental households or near them, or else moved out to the south and southeast within reservation limits. After the population increased, it is likely that the dispersion would have been greater had it not

2 [See Cat. 116, P. 32 -- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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613 been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land
621 outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that
361 some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *título* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

613 Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding
621 chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living
169 members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation
[162] population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

621 Appendix A gives the number of members for each household or
161 compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family
592 composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the
[935] total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population that spent most of its life on the reservation is *now in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

613 Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief.
622 It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[8] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound.
[648] He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[8] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.

[See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233 -- Analyst]

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to establish a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life.

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, individuals were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is already claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrangement to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage) in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one of the members who might want to establish a household of his own. The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an *ad hoc* basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer resolvable by emigration.

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief receives the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of dealing directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, since the development of a larger and more efficient police force in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part of the Mapuche themselves about going to court.

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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the original holder is still referred to in all matters of reservation business with the governmental agencies, and Mapuche applying for settlement of land disputes or obtaining documentary evidence (most often for the purpose of establishing credit with the government) of residence state that they are of such-and-such a reservation, mentioning the original chief's name, although he might have died fifty or more years ago. The people, therefore, are legally entitled to act in their own behalf, even though in many instances they are not fully aware of their freedom or the intricacies of the law, and are generally bewildered and discouraged from acting in an individual capacity by the impersonality of Chilean legal procrastination.

In the prereservation period, whatever authority a *lonko* might have exercised was limited, inasmuch as members of his group could always elect to move out. This was not true in the case of the post-reservation chiefs, whose local group not only lacked mobility but increased in size, thereby adding to his following. In this increase, however, lay the seeds of discord which have come to sap the chief's power in cases where he is unable to provide ritual leadership.

Guevara (1929:198) argued that as new households were established on a reservation, and the number of people inhabiting the old unilocal household decreased, the *lonko* or chief thereby lost control over them, and his prestige and authority diminished. Since Guevara is an accurate observer, it may be assumed that this tendency was already apparent around the turn of the century. However, it is likely that it occurred only around Chilean towns where acculturation proceeded more rapidly and land pressure was greater. Guevara was forecasting rather than describing a common situation. It is true that in the long run neolocal households attain more economic independence. Notions of private ownership of land have developed and communal agricultural activities have declined in importance or at least frequency. While this is the general situation today there is no evidence that such developments took place on any appreciable scale until population pressure became sufficiently great. These developments were not concomitant with the establishment of reservations: they characterize a mature situation. In the long range, Guevara was correct, but to stress this long-range aspect of politico-economic development alone is to overlook the important intermediate stage in which chieftainship flourished. It was a shrewd forecast, but the powers of chieftainship are only recently waning — and largely in the area of Chilean-Mapuche relationships. Mutual antagonisms between

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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obviously not immutable isolates in Mapuche society. The point made here is that the domestic group undergoes development through time, and that this development tends to be cyclical with respect to any family nucleus and is without doubt cyclical with respect to "the family" in Mapuche society. Simply stated, an elementary family may become embedded in a larger group called an extended, joint-extended, or compound family, this larger group tending to become reduced in time to separate elementary units. Any domiciliary arrangement is no more than a variation on this developmental theme, and is understandable only in terms of the phase which it represents in the cyclical unfolding of any domestic group.[1]

In discussing domestic group arrangements among the Mapuche it is profitable to take into account both the above-mentioned cyclical aspect and the numerical expression of all three types of domestic groups at more than one instant over a period of time. Thanks to fairly detailed registry records, which form a basis for discussion with informants, the numerical distribution of these three types of family grouping is available for the turn of the century and, therefore, may be compared to the numerical distribution encountered in the field in 1953.

TYPES OF FAMILY ORGANIZATION

It may be well to recapitulate a few points made in Chapter 4. It will be remembered that the Araucanian words ruka or rukafoun, while referring to the smallest residential unit in Mapuche society, the household, are not precise terms for distinguishing types of domestic grouping from one another. They do not indicate, for example, whether a household contains a simple elementary, an extended, or a compound family. This imprecision reflects the social fact I have just noted, which is that all three types of family organization exist and, at a certain stage of development, may be found under a single roof or at least in a domestic compound. In the light of supporting historical material, this cultural datum suggests that the elementary family was characteristically embedded in a larger domiciliary unit. I feel that prior to the 1900's, before the reservation system had been established throughout most of Araucanía, elementary-family house-

[1] It will be recognized that this is no more than an application to Mapuche society of Fortes' (1949a and b) analysis of a similar phenomenon which occurs in Tallensi society and which seems, in broad outline, rather general throughout the world.

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holds were in the minority. And this, I suggest, was because of the greater security value involved in living in larger groups during the era of Mapuche-white hostilities, in which times small household units would have been quite vulnerable to attack. Before final pacification the *lof* was of much greater social importance in defense, in conducting raids, and in subsistence activities than any other social grouping. With reservation living came the concomitant diminution of the importance of the single-household *lof* and the increasing importance of the reservation as a multihousehold social group. Within the reservation community, the elementary household has been able to survive in relatively greater physical isolation from other households. The economic (agricultural) motives for elementary-household orientation contribute to the fact that elementary-family units continue to bud off from joint-extended groups, even though such offshoots are now resident on the same reservation and consistute unitary groups in other than the sphere of economic relationship.

The fact that the Spanish words *familia* and *gente* are often employed in referring to members of single-family households suggests that the Mapuche feel they are more precise, and have a different implication than, terms such as *ruka*, and that there is a need for defining the prevailing situations in which elementary families are important subsistence units already in relative day-to-day isolation on most reservations. The appearance of the elementary-family household in numerical supremacy, as indicated in the table on page 127, must be taken as an expression of its emergence as an economic unit, at least in a limited sense, rather than as an expression of the field worker's fortuitous isolation of a single phase in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. Elementary families still merge with extended-household groups but, as the figures indicate, the incidence in favor of elementary-family separateness is greater than at around the turn of the century. The developmental cycle continues as described but elementary units bud off from the parental domicile sooner (usually after the birth of the first child) and in such manner as to be symbolic of a greater measure of economic independence, after the fact – that is, after the paterfamilias has made a suitable allocation of land resources to his sons – than formerly.

The elementary-family household, to the extent that it may function in relative economic isolation of the larger kingroup – with respect to its market and credit and half-share arrangements – is a

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recent phenomenon, the development of which is contingent upon the establishment of a stringent reservation policy and a changing economic base. The defensive and food-producing advantages inherent in the cooperative aspect of extended-family organization (*lafche*) have, respectively, disappeared and diminished. Formerly, cohesive seeds seem to have been great enough under conditions of external threat to survival to compensate for some of the tensions resulting from multifamily household residence. But the general conditions of war and almost unlimited physical mobility were such that segments of larger domestic groups characteristically became detached from the original group, taking up residence elsewhere. While the ideal familial arrangement seems to have been conceived as a multiple-family household, the absence of corporate lineage responsibilities in prereservation times contributed to the frangible nature of large domestic groups. Nowadays, the reservation matrix inhibits the fragmentation of patrilineal kingroups, within the context of the reservation territory, but *intra*reservational mobility – the establishment of "neolocal" households in relative economic independence from each other – is still feasible, provided there is enough parentally held land to be divided among married sons.

The following table shows the number of extended, compound, and elementary *household units* (without considering "joint-extended" relationships among elementary units) on five reservations in different areas of Araucanía. Data for the year 1900, which is an average date, were obtained from reservation records and supplemented by informants' statements. The figures for 1953 were gathered in the course of field work on the reservations listed. Changes in household composition at different periods during the last fifty years defy simple tabulation, but an idea of the kinds of modification which have taken place may be had by consulting Appendix A,[2] which describes changes in household composition for one reservation over roughly the same period.

Although the number of extended-family households *might* be greater than the number of elementary households on any reservation and in any restricted span of time, I suggest that the secular trend is toward the numerical supremacy of the elementary type of household unit, whether or not the extended type is the verbalized ideal form and regardless of the interaction among the separate segments. Informants' statements indicate that there is no longer any need for the individual to support the tensions characteristic of multifamily

[2] [See CAT 116, pp. 229–233 -- Analyst]

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED*		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonquco	9	4	7	8	7	19
Lincanan	8	8	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchuni	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

* Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

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always remarkable that comparatively ignorant old men, who were often bewildered in situations of rapid change and decision making, expressed themselves with resounding dignity. 594

Father and sons continue to form the core of the elementary family and the nucleus of a new branch of the patrilineage. The father and older sons, who may be delegated authority by him, are policy makers for the familial group. The old man is the mediator between his family and the larger social group as well as the Chilean world – although this is changing somewhat, depending on the relative education and abilities of father and sons – and the one who sets the tone of both intrafamilial relationships and those of the family with society at large. [613]

The relationship between father and daughter is qualitatively different from that between father and son. It is one of super- and subordination, but it lacks the working partnership that is present in the father-and-son relationship.

Sibling Relationships

In most Mapuche households there are usually several sons and daughters. Since girls marry off the reservation and young men are tending more and more to emigrate, there are also many households composed of a pair of aging spouses and only one or two of their offspring. But in the time of family vigor, households contain several children each. [592] [582] [169]

Since women bear children over a period of twenty years or so and there is a fairly high mortality rate, there are considerable age differences between siblings. Kinship terminology provides for distinctions based on relative age within the sibling group (in its widest sense), but these qualifications are rarely used in the context of day-to-day activities. Nor do Mapuche differentiate between full- and half-siblings in most instances, although for the purpose of inheritance the distinction may be made (especially for relationships through the mother). 593 [601] [595] [598]

From childhood, brothers are taught to cooperate and to gear their own demands and grievances to the family's good. The older is taught to guide the younger, and the younger to accept his brother's leadership. Younger brothers respect the superior knowledge and experience of their older brothers and emulate them, but at the same time older brothers acknowledge the rights of the younger to express themselves, to strive to demonstrate their abilities, and to maintain

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rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views.

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children.

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*adwaqtu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement.

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension -- migration -- is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society.

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the

Ex Farm E-1 (992-1994)[96] SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The Mapuche speak of change, welcome certain innovations, bemoan losses. Yet they think, talk, and act in a manner different from white Chileans. They regard themselves as a different "race," as belonging to a congeries of small reservation communities which group into regions and which, in their totality, constitute Mapuche society. The things which make them distinctive today have made them so at least since the effects of the present reservation policy began to be felt after 1883.[1]

A people who have been in sustained and often violent contact with a colonial power for several centuries could hardly be expected to have maintained a "stable equilibrium" throughout this period. But in order to have preserved an undeniable distinctiveness into modern times, some measure of social integration has been necessary. Social structures are not short-lived. Subjected to the cataclysmic force of warfare, the Mapuche weathered it for centuries. Final defeat and pacification brought additional structural modifications when the Mapuche became settled on small, fixed holdings in an area they once were able to roam at large.

During the reservation period there has been a good deal of change, but not much "breakdown" in the sense alluded to above, except where "obliteration" of Mapuche communities has occurred through sale or usurpation of reservation land. In itself, the disappearance of any single community segment does not imply structural change in Mapuche society. The sustained relationships among large blocks of reservations, as in Cautín Province, are not appreciably affected by the piecemeal withdrawal of a few communities.

Nevertheless, where reservations remain intact, structural adjustments have taken place. Political power, vis-à-vis the Chilean government, has tended to slip from the hands of chiefs, but a different authority structure has come into being—other Mapuche leaders have arisen to deal with the government, and the chief as priest has acquired added stature with respect to his integrative role in the ritual congregation. Multifamily households are not as common as formerly, but stable localized lineages have developed, have increased in size and corporate importance. The segments of these are functionally similar in many respects to the *lafche* households of the past even though they no longer comprise single domiciliary units.

[1] It might be argued that 1883 would be a better base line, the year when the first large-scale system of reservations was inaugurated. However, the Mapuche waged two major rebellions between that time and their final pacification, and marshaled a politico-military effectiveness they no longer have.

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Appendix A

Household Composition and Change: 1910-53, Reservation Alonqueo[a]

(A) (1910) Alonso/Wi, 2 sons, SiDa: (B) Curihueque/Wi, 2 sons, 1 dau. 592
After leaving the parental household, Alonso and his family moved near 621
where *ruka* 2 is situated on Map II.[b] He and his wife died *c.* 1920.

Alonso's oldest son, José Antonio, married his first wife after 1900 and had a son, Juan, his only living heir (who later established his own household a few hundred yards away from that of his father). After the birth of Juan, José Antonio separated from his wife and remarried but had no children by his second marriage. [587]

José Antonio, his son, Juan, and his second wife continued to live in the household of the deceased Alonso, along with his brother, Necul (who later died unmarried and without heirs), and his younger brother, José (born after 1900).

José married and had several children (none of whom have yet left the reservation or the parental household), and one of his sons, José Segundo, is now married and is living in the parental household with his wife and two children. Alonso's brother Curihueque, who was married at the time of *radicación* (he and his wife are now dead), continued to live in the household after Alonso died. Curihueque's son, Juan, is still living in the household; Curihueque's daughter left the reservation when she married; his other son is absent.

When Alonso died, the chieftainship passed to his eldest son, José Antonio, without dispute. Ten years prior to this event, however, José Antonio's son, Juan, married and moved from the parental household to *ruka* 1 (see Map II), where he lived with his wife and seven children until he died in 1947.

[a] Letters A, B, C, etc., refer to Diagram I. [see cat, 116 p.93 - ANALYST]

[p. 228 is blank] [see cat, 116 p.32 - ANALYST.]

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From Alonso's original household, therefore, which was composed of two elementary families and a collateral relative (BiDa), there have emerged two households: one maintained by his youngest son, José, and shared by his brother Curiñanque's son and family; the other, an offshoot, set up by Alonso's grandson.

Household 1 (see Map II): Widow of Juan, 1 unmarried son, 1 unmarried dau, 1 married son, his wife and infant son, and the widow's BiDaDa.

(K) *Household 2*: José/Wi, 2 unmarried sons, 6 unmarried daus, 1 married son, his wife and 2 children; and the deceased Curiñanque's married son, his wife and 3 children.

(C) (1900) Juan Pablo Huenumil/1st Wi, 1 son, 3 daus.

Juan Pablo was a brother of Alonso. He and his family were not living on the "reservation" at the time of application for the *título de merced*, but moved back in time for the radicación. He set up his household in the southern, uninhabited part of the reservation, near the site of ruka 3.

Juan Pablo took another wife by whom he had two sons, Ramón and Juan, now occupying households 4 and 5, respectively. When Transito, the son by the first wife, married, he and his wife remained in Juan Pablo's ruka. When Juan and Ramón married, they established rukas of their own. Juan Pablo died in 1930, both of his wives having succumbed years before, and Transito became head of the household. Juan Pablo's children by his first wife no longer live on the reservation, with the exception of Transito. The present offshoots from Juan Pablo's household are:

Household 3: Transito/Wi, 3 unmarried sons.

Household 4: Ramón/Wi, 2 sons (under 5 years).

Household 5: Juan/Wi, 1 unmarried dau.

(Three more of Juan Pablo's sons no longer live on the reservation.)

(D) (1910) Minchiqueo/Wi, 3 sons, 2 daus, SiSo.

Minchiqueo was a brother of Alonso. His son Vicente still lives on the reservation on the same site occupied by him, ruka 6.

Minchiqueo had two more sons after radicación, both still alive but both absent from the reservation. He also had two more daughters, one of whom is presently keeping house for Vicente, the other being absent. Vicente's cousin (SiSo) died without heirs.

Household 6: Vicente, Si.

(E) (1910) Widow of Marín, 2 sons (one married with no children); a BrSo, his wife, 4 sons, 1 dau; a SiSo of Marín.

Marín, a brother of Alonso, is said to have died in the last Mapuche rebellion, and his widow died *c.* 1910. The rest of the household continued to live near the present ruka 7. All those mentioned in the *título de merced* are now dead. Marín has no direct descendants. His BrSo, Lepín, had five more children, the oldest of which is now the household head of ruka 7, where he lives with his two younger brothers and two younger sisters.

Household 7: José Lepín, 2 Br, 2 Si.

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(F) (1910) Curihuinca/Wi, 4 unmarried sons, 3 daus, 1 married son, his wife (no children). 592 621

Curihuinca was a brother of Alonso. He lived in the northwest sector of the reservation near where his grandson and two of his sons now live—*rukas* 8, 9, and 11 respectively.

Manuel, his son who was married at the time of *radicación*, had two wives. By the first he had one son and two daughters. By the second he had a son, Pablo, who is now the household head of *ruka* 8, where he lives and is cared for by his older sister. Both of Manuel's wives died after he did, but the first wife returned to her natal reservation in 1928. [595]

Curihuinca's next oldest surviving son, Pablo the elder, married two women (both deceased) who bore him five sons and one daughter. Pablo and Manuel are full brothers; they are half brothers to Bernardo and Francisco. [595]

Bernardo also married two women and has four sons (all absent) and three daughters (unmarried) who keep house for him. After his first marriage, Bernardo moved from the parental household in the northwest sector of the reservation to the site of his present *ruka*, 10, and cleared virgin land to farm. [595]

Francisco took only one wife, who is still living with him in *ruka* 11, and who bore him four daughters and one son.

Household 8: Pablo, Si.
Household 9: Pablo, 2 sons, 1 dau.
Household 10: Bernardo, 3 daus.
Household 11: Francisco/Wi, 4 daus.

(1910) Llancamil/2 Wi (the first childless), 5 sons, 3 "nephews" (exact relationship undetermined).

Llancamil is a brother of Alonso and mentioned in the *título de merced*, at which time he occupied a *ruka* near household 12. Llancamil's only living (recognized) son is Guillermo, who lives in *ruka* 13 with his wife, two young children, and a younger sister. After marriage, Guillermo moved from Llancamil's *ruka* and established his own household in virgin land. The occupant of household 16, Juan Millapan, is a half brother of Guillermo.

Llancamil's widowed sister occupied household 15 with her son Segundo and a daughter. After her husband died she returned to reservation Alonqueo where a house was built for her on her brother's land. She has a married son, Domingo. [589]

Domingo lives with his wife and several children in *ruka* 14. His wife is descended from Cayuqueo, an original *radicado* but no relation to Alonso. She was married to Llancamil's son, Pedro, who is no longer living on the reservation. Domingo had had one son and one daughter by his wife; three daughters of Pedro are also living in his household.

Household 12: Llancamil, dau.
Household 13: Guillermo/Wi, 1 son, 1 dau, 1 Si.
Household 14: Domingo/Wi, 1 son, 1 dau, 3 stepdaus.
Household 15: Segundo, Mo, 1 Br.

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(1910) Millapan/Wi, 1 son, his wife and 2 sons, 1 dau.

Millapan's grandson, Juan, occupied household 16, where he moved at the time of his first marriage. Formerly, the parental household, headed by the grandfather, Millapan, was situated near *ruka* 12 or 15. Juan married after his father and mother died, when he moved to his present location. Juan had no children by his first wife. His present wife is Chilean and has one daughter by a previous marriage (to a Chilean) and two sons and two daughters by Juan. Juan remarried after his first wife died.

Household 16: Juan/Wi, 2 sons, 2 daus, 1 stepdau.

(1910) Catrilef/2 Wi, the first with 3 daus, the second with 1 son; WiMo.

No representatives of this family live on the reservation. Catrilef was a brother of Alonso.

(1910) Calfumil/2 Wi, both childless.

No representatives of this family live on the reservation. Calfumil was a brother of Alonso.

(1910) Lipin Nanco/Wi, 3 sons, 1 unmarried dau, 1 married dau.

Lepin was a brother of Alonso. All persons mentioned in the *titulo de merced* have died. A son, presently absent from the reservation, and a daughter (widowed), who has returned to the reservation with her children, are the only descendants of Lipin Nanco.

Household 17: Isabel (widowed), 3 sons, 1 dau.

(1910) Meliqueo/Wi, 1 son, 2 daus.

Meliqueo was a brother of Alonso. His wife and he are dead. His son died without issue. His daughters married out. The family is no longer represented on the reservation.

(1910) José Marin/Wi, 3 sons.

José Marin was a brother of Alonso. No descendants are alive on the reservation.

(1910) Juan Peralta/Wi; 1 son, 3 unmarried Br; 1 married "uncle," Juan Huiriqueo/Wi, 3 sons, 1 dau.

Juan Peralta (deceased) was not related to Alonso. His wife, son, and two brothers are dead. His other brother, Luciano, was in Argentina, but visited the reservation in 1953, as he does from time to time. Juan Huiriqueo and his wife and children are all dead. His granddaughter Petron's son, Curileo, lives on the reservation.

Household 18: Inocencio Curileo, SI, uncle Luciano.

(1910) Francisco Huiriqueo/Wi, no children.

Francisco was not related to Alonso. He had two sons, Francisco (deceased) and Manuel, and two daughters, Anilla and Juana, both of whom married out (now deceased).

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Juana had a daughter, Maria Llanquitruf, who, after being twice divorced, returned to the reservation of her mother with her small children. Anilla married out and had a daughter, Maria R., who came to live on reservation Alonqueo with her son, Santiago Railef, after her husband died.

Francisco Huiriqueo had a son, Tani, after the *radicación*. Francisco's other son, Manuel, had a son Pancho.

Household 19: Maria Llanquitruf, 4 daus.
Household 20: Tani Huiriqueo/Wi, 2 daus.
Household 21: Manuel Huiriqueo/Wi, 2 unmarried sons, 3 daus.
Household 22: Pancho/Wi.
Household 23: Santiago Railef/Mo.

(1910) Widow of Rufiil, 1 son, 1 dau.

Neither Rufiil nor his wife were related to Alonso. Rufiil's son, Huechecura (now dead), left two sons, Andres and Juan, who are still living on the reservation.

Household 24: Juan/Wi, 3 daus.
Household 25: Andres/Wi, 3 sons.

(1910) Quintuqueo/Wi, 1 son, 1 stepson, WiBr.

Quintuqueo was not related to Alonso. His son, Ramón Raillan, lives on the reservation with his daughter. His wife is absent. His sister and her husband, five sons and two daughters were living with him in 1953.

Household 26: Ramón, 1 dau; Si/husband, 7 children.

(1910) Cayuqueo/Wi, 1 dau/husband, 2 sons.

Cayuqueo was not related to Alonso.

(1910) José Quintuqueo (brother of Quintuqueo).

José was not related to Alonso. He and his family have died out.

(1910) Pichan.[b]

(1910) Llanqueo.[b]

(1910) Carihuntru.[b]

(1910) Trolian.[b]

(1910) Anjelita.[b]

[b] All died out without heirs.

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Appendix B

Distribution of Population, Land, and Animals on Three Reservations

311 Most of the 513 hectares of reservation Alonqueo are utilized for field crops and *chacarería*, there being little woodland and little marshland unsuitable for farming. According to the general practice in the region, about two-thirds of the agricultural land is allowed to lie fallow each year, and during this time is customarily used to pasture oxen, cows, horses, and sheep.

423 In the accompanying chart, the number of hectares of land are given by household (as numbered on Map II and Diagram I), the number of adults and minors in each house are listed, and the number of animals per household are cited.

Reservation Llancaman has 293 hectares, of which 181 are farmed, 90 are used for common pasturage, and the rest made up of the communal roads and land set aside for the railroad spur which runs through the *baja*.

423 On reservation Llancaman the residents are "not very sure" how much land they "own" or the amount of land other families "own." It is occasionally the case for a man to say he "owns" so-and-so many hectares but uses so-and-so many more. This is due to a knowledge of the amount of land granted on the average to the original *radicados*, about five hectares each. Since the days of the *radicación*, families have opened new land for farming, but they rarely claim title to this.

311 133 Reservation Llancaman differs topographically and in soil types from reservation Alonqueo, insofar as land is classified as *altura* (high, dry, and good for wheat), *baja* (lower, more moist, best for barley, but also used for wheat and potatoes), and *vega* (swampland used part of the year for pasture). Although these distinctions may be made on reservation Alonqueo, most of the land there is *altura*, that which is not being negligible.

311 The outstanding difference in land utilization on the two reservations is

[See Cat. 116, pp. 32 and 93 respectively --Analyst]

[Reservation Alonqueo]

CHART 1

[1] A	HOMESTEADS Adults	Minors	Absent males	TOTAL LAND Totals	Hectares	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED Sheep	Cattle	Horses	HECTARES Shared/Rented Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	ANIMALS Shared/Rented Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
1)	3	4	(4)	7	7	30	7	2	0	6M *	0	6M	0	x	x
2)	12	7	(0)	19	110	50	28	4	0	0	0	0	0	x	
3)	2	3	(4)	5	15	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0		
4)	2	2	(0)	4	14	22	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
5)	2	1	(0)	3	14	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
6)	2	0	(3)	2	20	100	5	3	0	0	0	60M	0	x	x
7)	3	2	(0)	5	25	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0		
8)	2	0	(1)	2	5	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
9)	3	1	(3)	4	7	20	4	0	0	8M	0	0	0	x	
10)	4	0	(4)	4	20	50	6	0	0	0	0	0	0		
11)	4	2	(1)	6	7	20	4	0	0	0	0	0	0		
12)	2	0	(0)	2	10	15	5	1	10C *	0	0	0	0		x
13)	3	2	(0)	5	10	10	4	0	10C	0	0	0	0		x
14)	3	4	(0)	7	46	15	0	0	4M, 10C	0	5M	0	15C	x	x
15)	3	0	(0)	3	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
16)	3	4	(0)	7	50	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0		
17)	3	2	(1)	5	15	0	0	0	15C	0	0	0	0		x
18)	2	0	(2)	2	20	20	0	0	20M	0	0	0	0	x	
19)	1	4	(2)	5	4	0	0	0	4M	0	0	0	0		x
20)	2	2	(0)	4	8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x
21)	3	2	(0)	7	15	6	2	0	6C	0	4	0	4		x
22)	2	0	(0)	2	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?		
23)	1	1	(0)	2	6	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
24)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	2	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x
25)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x
26)	7	4	(0)	11	40	15	2	0	8M	0	0	0	15M	x	
	Absent				8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x
	Absent				18	0	0	0	0	0	18C	0	0		x
	Totals														
	80	83	(25)	133	513	483	102	15	115	14	27	66	34		

* M = with Mapuche.
* C = with Chilean.

[1] [Numbers in this column correspond to households indicated on Map II (see Cat. 116, p. 32)--Analyst]

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311 that there is still much unfarmed land on Llancaman which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilcan lies just to the north of Llancaman. It has an area [133] of 500 hectares, only 73 of which are under cultivation. The topography and soil types are similar to those of Llançaman.

[Reservation Llancaman]

CHART 2

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592
423
422
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HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
3	4	(0)	7	15	20	18	4	10C	6M	0	0	0	x	x
3	7	(1)	10	7	6	4	2	2C	3M	0	0	6M	x	
1	4	(0)	5	20	20	6	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	x
2	1	(1)	3	17	50	6	3	5M	0	0	0	3M	x	x
1	1	(1)	2	10	25	11	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	4	(0)	7	6	20	8	3	6M	0	0	0	0	x	
2	1	(3)	3	10	?	?	1	0	0	0	?	?		?
3	1	(0)	4	10	25	4	1	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	3	(2)	6	11	30	9	2	3C	2M	2C	0	0	x	
2	0	(0)	2	14	30	13	2	5M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
2	1	(3)	3	5	0	0	1	2M		0	0	20C	x	x
2	6	(0)	8	2	20	10	2	2C	0	0	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	3	0	0	1	8C	0	0	0	12C		x
2	6	(1)	8	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	24C		x
3	2	(0)	5	11	8	2	1	5C	0	0	0	2M		x
2	4	(0)	6	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	2M		x
Absent			0	13	0	0	0	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
Absent			0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5C	0	0		x
Absent			0	7	0	0	0	2M	0	3C	0	0	x	x
Totals														
38	48	(13)	82	181	294	98	37	80	11	17		71		

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

[Reservation Huilean]

CHART 3

HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented				
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
2	0	(1)	2	8	0	1	2	3M	0	0	0	27C		x
3	0	(0)	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	10C		
2	0	(0)	2	9	0	0	0	4C	0	5C	0	11C		x
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	0		x
3	2	(0)	5	5	0	0	1	0	3M	0	0	18C	x	x
9	3	(1)	12	5	0	0	0	1C	0	4C	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	7	0	0	0	3M	0	0	0	18C	x	x
2	2	(0)	4	8	0	4	1	3C	0	0	0	0		x
4	0	(0)	4	5	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	16C		x
2	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	0		x
1	0	(4)	1	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	0		x
3	0	(4)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		x
Totals														
37	11	(11)	48	73	0	5	5	29	3	9	0	100		

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592
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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

476 It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the
464 economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—
622 symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn
182 bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

121 In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization
622 we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, even-
476 tually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the
464 multilineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

613 It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in
178 size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves
[476] members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases
[464] work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called *cacique* (Spanish) or *lonko* of such-and-such line.

592 Today, the family household is emerging as the basic eco-
178 nomic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other
433 economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved
178 in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this receives ritual expression in public cere-
433 monies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will
[128] turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapucheland, largely in their secular aspects, for the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

000 sons. It is directly from the father that all sons acquire
593 lineage-based rights within the reservation community. These
421 include the right to land and house site, the right to participate
613 in political, economic, recreational, and ritual activities of the
[178] community. Today, these rights are more immediately invested
[592] in the household head, that is, the father-husband, than they seem to have been in the recent past. A few generations ago, the
622 chief of a reservation took a more active role in deciding the
178 apportionment of land, controlled political decisions, organized
421 economic activities, gave or withheld permission to marry (connected with his control over land), and conducted game activities (for military preparedness). While the chief is still the repository of such power, he seldom takes an active part in granting or withholding rights of this kind. These rights have tended to become fixed within the smaller segments of the lineage, in the two-generational or, at most, the three-
[596] generational branches. In many cases, these are extended-family groupings. For example, if one's grandfather and father farmed a certain section of land on the reservation, one would not have to validate his rights to this land before the chief or even before a council of elders, provided there was no serious contest among heirs which called for lineage arbitration.

613 Much the same may be said for other rights enjoyed by a
622 man's sons. These are indeed birth rights, theoretically subject
421 to approval by the responsible members of the lineage, headed
[428] by the chief, but actually passing from father to son, free from infringement by kinsmen who are not one's immediate family. There are sufficient exceptions to this *de facto* condition, however, to indicate that on occasion the traditional powers vested in the lineage may be brought into play, and that the chief is more than the mere titular head of the community. The chief is a spokesman for the localized lineage, and among all the
[428] elders he has the greatest authority. But by and large these lineage-based powers are seldom activated, and the inheritance system, as one example, operates in seeming independence of lineage machinery, as long as one household does not infringe seriously on the rights of others. This is an indication of the smoothness with which the lineage system functions.

000 When we move into the sphere of Mapuche morality,